2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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535 The characteristic part of the *baris* costume is the head-dress with
292 its high triangle of white cloth (*udeng-udengan*), worn at the back of the head, and a diadem of fresh *tjempaka* flowers in the front, set in wires and arranged in rows, ending in spirals at each side of the head. The dancer of *baris pendét* wears skin-tight trousers (*djalér*) and a little coat with tight sleeves (*kwatjí*). Over his breast a scarf (*umpal*) is tied, and from it hang many narrow strips (*lelantjar*) of cloth overlaid with goldleaf, giving the dancer the aspect of an enormous gilt cabbage. On his back he wears a kris with gold handle. The word *baris* means "in line," "military formation."

THE KEBIYAR

535 Individualism is not encouraged in the essentially communal
555 Balinese society, but from time to time the genius of an artist
159 breaks through the conventional mould and emerges as a powerful personal influence. Some years ago a young man of humble birth startled South Bali with a new dance which combined the rugged manliness of the heroic dances (*baris*) with the delicacy of the *legong*. Its novelty consisted in the fact that the dancer never raised himself from the ground, moving only from the waist up, giving greater emphasis to the movements of the torso, arms, and hands and focusing attention on the dancer's facial expression. In using his body like a sensitive musical instrument, the young dancer interpreted even the most delicate moods of the island's finest orchestra, the *gong* Pangkung of Tabanan. Eventually he joined the *gong* Belaluan, and his fame spread to the foreign visitors on the island. The name of Mario became as well known to the world traveller as that of Mei Lan-Fang, Shan Kar, or Escudero.

535 At the regular weekly concerts of the Belaluan *gong* given at
545 the hotel, Mario sat cross-legged in the centre of a square formed by the instruments of the orchestra. He was dressed in a long
[292] piece of brocade wrapped around his waist like a skirt, with one end trailing on the ground, and a sash of gilt cloth bound his torso. Jasmine and *tjempaka* flowers were stuck in his small turban, and over his left ear he wore a trembling great hibiscus

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong